

# Insurgencies, Terrorist Groups and Indigenous Movements

## An Annotated Bibliography

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**T**HE FOLLOWING annotated bibliography uses an interdisciplinary, multicultural approach to assess the current literature on highly complex issues in Latin America. To that effect the bibliography has been divided into four topics: Social, Economic and Political issues; US-Latin America issues; Drug Trafficking; and Insurgencies, Terrorist groups and Indigenous Movements.

A complement to the bibliography is "Primer on Latin America Insurgencies and Guerrilla Movements." The sources listed roughly encompass the period 1968 to 1999, providing background information on the most important revolutionary movements in Latin America, such as the Montoneros of Argentina, the Tupamaros of Uruguay and Carlos Marighella's Action for National Liberation of Brazil. Many of these organizations sought to overthrow their respective national governments through violent means and blamed the incursion of foreign capital as a form of economic imperialism. Even after their demise, they continue to inspire terrorists and revolutionary movements throughout the world, particularly in Latin America. Parallels are evident between some of 1960s' and 1970s' movements and those currently active in Latin American countries such as Colombia and Mexico. Understanding the ideas and tactics of the previous Latin American revolutionary movements could help gauge today's movements and uprisings.

The section "Social, Economic and Political issues" provides background for the insurgencies, terrorist

groups and revolutionary movements flourishing in Latin America today. The great social and economic disparities that gave rise to revolutionary movements in the 60s and 70s have changed little since then, except for some democracy advances. Pervasive misery and destitution, marginal existence, corruption and injustice and deterioration of state institutions persist. Most Latin American countries are emerging from a period of social, economic and political unrest and slowly progressing toward democratization. Yet, progress is tenuous and fragile. Insurgencies and revolts have not disappeared entirely as witnessed by Colombia's insurgencies, Mexico's indigenous revolt and Brazil's Landless Workers Movement. Although Peru's MRTA and Sendero Luminoso have been practically stamped out, terrorist cells continue to thrive in Peru and hundreds of terrorists languish in its prisons.

Most countries in the region have not recovered entirely from the financial crises and economic woes that befell them in previous decades. Economic problems have enormous impact not only on the domestic economy but also on economic ties with other countries. In August 1998, the global financial crisis that swept from Asia to Russia to Latin America hit Brazil full force. Brazil is the world's eighth largest economy and a leader in Latin America by every measure—land, population and economy. Its economic ailments directly affect its Mercosur trading partners, other Latin Ameri-

can countries and those US companies which have billions of dollars invested in Brazil. National disasters have also had a bearing on the region's economies. In 1998 El Niño wreaked havoc along the Pacific coastal region of the Western Hemisphere, affecting Peru and Ecuador particularly hard. In early 1999, Central America was devastated by a hurricane of historical proportions. The social, economic and political elements are indispensable for formulating a credible strategic assessment of Latin America's hot spots.

The section "US-Latin America Issues" provides current literature on US-Latin America relations, covering a range of topics from economic, trade and security relations to human rights, military issues and national security. US policy vis-à-vis Latin America has far-reaching repercussions in the region. Likewise, political, social and economic instability in the region undermines US security and economic interests there. Because Latin American issues are seldom considered serious threats to US security interests, important dangers are often understated. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger dismissed its importance, equating Latin America to a dagger pointed at the heart of Antarctica, a place of minimal importance. He failed to mention that approximately 20 percent of US trade is done with Latin America—certainly, negative economic developments there would affect US external trade. Most illicit drugs entering the United States today come from Latin American countries—illicit drug trafficking and consumption exact a heavy toll on US society. This section provides a glimpse of the intricacies of US foreign policy toward Latin America and the difficulties of advancing democratization in the region while standing firm against human rights violations, dictatorships, drug trafficking and violent revolutionary groups seeking to violently overthrow governments.

The "Illicit Narcotics Trade" section is closely linked to those above. Some of the more unstable areas in Latin America have endemic drug problems—either with illegal cultivation or trafficking, or both. For several years, the illicit drug trade has destroyed local communities, threatened social cohesion, distorted economies and destabilized governments in both producer and consumer nations. Some estimate drug revenues as high as \$400 billion a year, greater than the gross domestic product of many developing and some developed countries. This fact alone gives the organizations who control this trade substantial economic and political power. For researchers and analysts, this power to influence governments and peoples is one of the most important variables to keep in mind when attempting to determine causes and effects of instability in the most troublesome regions of Latin America. For example, relations among some of the Latin American countries have been particularly affected by drug abuse and trafficking, which in turn have led to damaging distortions in foreign and domes-

tic policy agendas that hinder cooperation and integration in the region. This section provides a window to how illicit drug activities are interwoven with the social, political and economic issues of the Americas.

The last selection of this bibliography—"Insurgencies, Terrorist groups and Indigenous Movements"—provides a wide range of articles covering movements advocating violent overthrow of governments, to grassroots uprisings that have either taken up arms to resolve their demands—as the Zapatistas—or have used nonviolent forms of rebellion, such as the Landless Workers Party (MST-Movimento do Trabalhadores Sem-Terra). Although the MST does not fit the usual mold of a revolutionary or insurgent movement, many of the issues and tactics associated with it parallel other more violent organizations. Its growing strength in both size and economic power is an additional destabilizer in the already troubled Brazilian economy. As the political and economic power of MST grows so does its militancy. If its grievances are not answered reasonably and soon, the militant elements may resort to more drastic, and possibly violent, means to achieve their goals.

Colombia, because of its political, insurgency and narcotics-related problems, is a major destabilizing force in the region. And worse yet, no viable solution is anywhere in sight. In the middle of it all, the United States finds itself in an untenable position. On the one hand, it funds the war on Colombian drug traffickers, purposely avoiding Colombia's war with the insurgents as an internal political problem. On the other hand, it continues to link insurgents and drug traffickers, arguing that the antidrug campaign cannot gain ground as long as well-equipped left-wing guerrillas protect drug cultivation and trafficking. The United States is skeptical about the Colombian military being able to defeat, or at least contain, the ever-growing insurgent movement. The US skepticism has prompted rumors about a possible US military involvement to suppress the guerrillas, perhaps in a joint effort with neighboring countries increasingly threatened by the insurgents.

Already Peru and Ecuador are increasing their military presence along their Colombian frontiers. In Peru, terrorist movements in the 80s and early 90s that came close to overthrowing the government have been defeated. However, small cells of Sendero Luminoso remain in the hinterlands and hundreds of Senderistas are imprisoned, including Sendero's cunning and sanguinary leader, Abimael Guzman. Peruvian authorities disarticulated, for the most part, the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA). Nevertheless, the MRTA's surprise takeover of the Japanese Embassy in 1995 with a handful of members demonstrated willingness to commit sensational and desperate acts. Bolivia is still a major coca grower and has a large underprivileged indigenous population and an impoverished economy, major ingredients for political and social destabilization. In southern

Mexico, the indigenous uprising in Chiapas is another insurgency that bears close watching. The elements that originally gave rise to the rebellion still exist. Furthermore, the government response has exacerbated the problem, leaving the conflict dangerously close to exploding again.

The sources listed in this annotated bibliography provide a variety of related literature to help assess current and future instability in the region. Latin America faces numerous challenges: political instability, social ills, drug trafficking and economic weakness. This bibliography provides a window into some of these issues.

## Social, Economic and Political Issues

"Brazil's Message: Forget the Global, Think Local." *Global Intelligence Update*, STRATFOR, 18 January 1999. Online 4 March 1999 at <<http://www.stratfor.com/services/giu/011899.asp>>. Analysis of Brazil's decision to devalue the real concluding it is not a global problem, but rather a series of regional problems. Argues that Brazil's devaluation clears the decks of an essentially healthy economy and thus the long-term investment atmosphere in Brazil will actually improve.

Celis Noguera, Carlos E. *Geopolítica Regional (el área del Caribe, área Andina y área Amazónica)*. Caracas: Ediciones de la Presidencia de la República, 1994. Analyzes the geographical and political order of the Caribbean, Andes and Amazon regions as it relates to regional security, interdependence and social and economic integration.

Dominguez, Jorge I., ed. *International Security and Democracy: Latin America and the Caribbean in the post-Cold War Era*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998. Discusses how democratic governments in the region can effectively strike a balance between security needs and domestic peace and stability. Based on a March 1995 workshop and a conference held by the Inter-American Dialogue in September 1995. Topics include interstate relations in South America, participation in UN missions, security threats and US foreign and military policy and inter-American security issues and institutions.

Ensignia, Jaime and Rolando Diaz, eds. *La seguridad social en América Latina: ¿reforma o liquidación?* Venezuela: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1998. Examines changes in the social security and pension systems and responses of labor unions, 1980s-1990s; Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Ecuador, Paraguay, Bolivia, Mexico, Colombia and Venezuela.

Ferrero Costa, Eduardo, ed. *Hacia una agenda nacional de política exterior*. Lima: Centro Peruano de Estudios Internacionales (CEPEI), 1995. Peru's foreign policy agenda in relation to global concerns, neighboring states, Latin American integration, and the US topics include law of the sea, environment, population and development, drug trafficking, international terrorism, human rights and democracy.

Fitzgibbon, Russell Humke and Philip Kelly, eds. *Assessing Democracy in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998. Based on 50 years' worth of data, examines and compares the progress of Latin American countries toward democracy. Contributors focus their analyses on those factors most germane to the growth, maintenance or failure of democratic systems.

"Foreign Investment in Latin America and the Caribbean, 1998." *United Nations-CEPAL News*, December 1998. Online 19 February 1999 at <<http://www.eclacwash.org/news/1298.html>>. Reports that the severe financial crisis in Asia seems to have been favorable for foreign direct investment in Latin America. Provides an update on foreign investments in Latin America.

Fuentes, Claudio and Carlos Martin, eds. *El Mercosur de la defensa: estudio estratégico de América Latina y el Caribe*. Chile: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1998. Examines the security and defense environment of and cooperation among Southern Cone Common Market countries, including background on military relations, armed forces and defense expenditures of Latin America and the Caribbean region. Prepared jointly with the Centro Latinoamericano de Defensa y Desarme (CLADDE) and the Programa Paz y Seguridad en las America, Wilson Center—FLACSO Chile.

Gamboa, Miguel. "Cambios en el repertorio de la confrontación social y política." *Thema Electronic Magazine* 4 (January/April 1999). Online 17 February 1999 at <<http://colombia-thema.org/janvier99/gamboa.htm>>. Analyzes the social and political confrontation in Latin America since the 1980s and the development of the social movements associated with it. It argues for a wider use of democratic tools to effect social and political change.

Grindle, Merilee S. *Challenging the State : Crisis and Innovation in Latin America and Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Based on the notion that economic and political development require capable states, traces the ways in which state capacity is built, destroyed, and at times, rebuilt. It indicates how, for some countries, a decade of deep and sustained crisis also became a decade of innovations in ideas, policy directions, political coalitions and government institutions.

Inter-American Development Bank. *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America (1998-1999)*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998. Argues that macroeconomic stability and the adoption of free market economic policies over the past decade have not brought greater equity to Latin America. Poverty levels are unabated, salary gaps have widened and social services in many countries remain inadequate. Examines the factors that contribute to inequity, discusses the outlook for income distribution and proposes strategies to better distribute the benefits of development.

Helpful guide to the Latin American and Caribbean economies. Features statistical appendix with year-by-year consolidated data for the past decade on population, national accounts, central government finances, balance of payments, external debt, exchange rates and inflation.

Kruijt, Dirk. "Politicians in Uniform: Dilemmas about the Latin American Military," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* (December 1996), 7-19. Examines the role of the military against insurgent movements, its political nature, civil-military training institutes, and the control of the military over the national intelligence system, police forces and local development programs.

Lahera, Eugenio and Marcelo Ortúzar. "Military Expenditure and Development in Latin America" *United Nations-CEPAL Review* 65 (August 1998). Online 19 February 1999 at <<http://www.eclac.org/english/CepalReview/rw65/lahera.htm>>. Discusses military expenditure in the region and how governments are questioning levels, costs and cost-effectiveness mainly for economic reasons and are beginning to explore other forms of public expenditure that could render different and more specialized services in lieu of the excessive arms expenditures.

"Latin America's Backlash." *The Economist* (30 November 1996), 19-21. Online 18 February 1999 at <[http://www.economist.com/tfs/archive\\_tframeset.html](http://www.economist.com/tfs/archive_tframeset.html)>. Argues that a malaise exists in Latin America and that if the region's macroeconomic reforms are to endure and flourish, they need to be backed by social reform as well.

Le Bot, Yvon. *Violence de la modernité en Amérique latine: Indianité, société et pouvoir*. France: Editions Karthala, 1994. Studies difficulties faced by Indian peasant communities in maintaining their identity and autonomy within modern societies of Latin America, cases of their insurgency and violence inflicted on them; Central America and the Andean region, chiefly. Some focus on Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico, Nicaragua and Peru.

Macedo Carvalho, Luiz Paulo. "A Brazilian Strategic Outlook." *Joint Force Quarterly* (Spring 1996), 59-63. Online 17 February 1999 at <[http://www.dtic.mil/doc-trine/jel/jfq\\_pubs/jp019611.pdf](http://www.dtic.mil/doc-trine/jel/jfq_pubs/jp019611.pdf)>. National, regional and international perspectives. Translated from Portuguese.

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Soberg Shugart, eds. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997. Addresses the current debate regarding the liabilities and merits of presidential government. Examines variations among different presidential systems and skeptically view claims that presidentialism has added significantly to the problems of democratic governance and stability.

Mares, David R., ed. *Civil-Military Relations: Building Democracy and Regional Security in Latin America,*

*Southern Asia, and Central Europe*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1998. Examines the claim that civilian domination is the only form compatible with democracy and regional peace. Disputes this claim but clarifies the conditions under which a partnership between civilians and the military can help promote both. Provides in-depth analyses of the normative and institutional aspects of the civil-military relationship to demonstrate that it is the politics of the relationship rather than its form that influences the likelihood of democracy and regional peace.

Mesa Lago, Carmelo. "Social Welfare Reform in the Context of Economic-Political Liberalization: Latin American Cases." *World Development* 25 (April 1997), 497-517. Examines the inability of social security to cope with economic reforms and implications for pension and health care in eight countries. Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Pension System Reforms in Latin America: the Position of the International Organizations." *United Nations-CEPAL Review* 60 (December 1996), 73-98. Discussion of issues in the social security debate, classifies reforms, strategies of the World Bank, International Labor Organization, International Social Security Association, and Inter-American Development Bank, and analyzes viability of the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean 1995 document.

Millett, Richard L. and Michael Gold-Biss, ed. *Beyond Praetorianism: The Latin American Military in Transition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1996. Examines nature and roles of the region's armed forces following the end of the Cold War case studies. Published by North-South Center Press. Issues include hemispheric and regional security, peacekeeping and confidence building, guerrillas, narcotics and terrorism; case studies include Mexico, Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, Brazil, Argentina and Peru.

Nef, Jorge and Ximena E. Nuñez. *América Latina frente al siglo XXI: la reestructuración del encuadre mundial y regional; las relaciones interamericanas frente al siglo XXI*. Bogota, Colombia: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1994. Inter-American relations and security environment in the post-Cold War context; prospects, assessments and recommendations.

Nyroos, Vivianne and Hector Castro Portillo. "Informe sobre Derechos Humanos y Conflicto Armado en Colombia." *Thema Electronic Magazine* (January-July 1998). Online at <<http://columbia-thema.org/janvier99/fedes.htm>>. Compendium and assessment of the most important social and political events of Colombia for 1998. Looks at human rights, armed conflict and peace. Argues that the report is an attempt to provide a more objective and comprehensive look at the problems than the fragmented and sometimes incomplete reports

provided by the media.

Pécaut, Daniel. "La Colombie à l'aube du tème millenaire." In *La Colombie à l'aube du 3ème millenaire*, Paris, Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Amerique Latine, eds. Jean Michel Blanquer and Christian Gros, trans. Bernardo Correa López. Paris: Institut des Hautes Etudes d'Amerique Latine, 1996. Online 17 February 1999 at <<http://columbia-thema.org/nov97/articulo1b.htm>>. Presents and discusses collected statistics of violence and violent crimes in Colombia since the 1980s and provides pessimistic prognosis based on present situation.

Radu, Michael. "Venezuela: Back to the Third World?" *E-Notes, Foreign Policy Research Institute* (8 December 1998). Claims that corruption permeates Venezuela and that Chavez' victory bodes ill for Latin America and that his fondness for Castro and his affinity for Colombia's Marxist guerrillas could easily deepen the serious political crisis of Venezuela.

"Real Problems from Brazil." *CNN, The Financial Network Special Report* (13 January 1999). CNN online 4 March 1999 at <[http://www.cnnfn.com/worldbiz/9901/13/brazil\\_wrapup/](http://www.cnnfn.com/worldbiz/9901/13/brazil_wrapup/)>. Delves into Brazil's financial woes, from its four-year economic recovery to the devaluation of its currency in January 1999. Opinions from several economists, worldwide reverberations and concerns about political instability within Brazil.

Rojas Aravena, Francisco and Claudio Fuentes, eds. *Chile y Brasil: desafios de la Cuenca del Pacifico: estudio estratégico de América Latina, 1994/1995*. Colombia: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1995. Economic and political relations of Brazil and Chile with countries of Asia and the Pacific and defense implications; security issues in Latin America and the Caribbean region; profiles of the armed forces of 25 countries. Prepared jointly with the Centro Latinoamericano de Defensa y Desarme (CLADDE) and the Fundacion Alexandre Guzman, Brazil. Caribbean countries: Cuba, Haiti, Jamaica, Dominican Republic and Trinidad and Tobago.

Ryan, Jeffrey J. "The Impact of Democratization on Revolutionary Movements." *Comparative Politics* 27 (October 1994), 27-44. Includes case studies of Venezuela, Guatemala and El Salvador—some focus on coalition building.

Sautter, Hermann, and Rolf Schinke, ed. *Stabilization and Reforms in Latin America: Where Do We Stand?* Mexico: Editorial Iberoamericana, 1996. Reviews economic change since the 1980s, and analyzes and prioritizes ongoing needs; examines economic stabilization, foreign trade, institutional reform, social development and other topics. Papers presented at a symposium organized by the Ibero-America Institute, Goettingen, Germany, November 1995. Subjects include good governance, monetary policy, bank regulation, exchange rates and regional trade agreements, so-

cial reforms and prospects for long-term economic change.

Skocpol, Theda. *Social Revolutions in the Modern World*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. Regimes that are susceptible to the growth of revolutionary movements and vulnerable to transfers of state power to revolutionary challengers are identified in this updated sequel to the author's 1979 book, *States and Social Revolutions*.

Turbiville, Graham H. Jr. *Law Enforcement and the Mexican Armed Forces: The Military Undertakes New Internal Security Missions*. Fort Leavenworth, KS: Foreign Military Studies Office Special Report, 1997. Online 23 February 1999 at <<http://call.army.mil/call/fmso/fmsopubs/issues/mxcoparm.htm>>. Discusses efforts of Mexican authorities to use the law enforcement and defense resources of the state to control or eliminate national and public security threats ranging from insurgency, to drug trafficking, to violent street crime.

The World Bank Group. *Global Economic Prospects and the Developing Countries 1998/99: Beyond Financial Crisis*. Washington, DC: The World Bank, 1998. Analyzes short- and long-term future prospects for developing countries in the wake of the East Asia crisis; maps out policies to deal with crises once they erupt; and focuses on ways of preventing future crises on the scale of East Asia's recent experience.

## US-Latin America Issues

Binnendijk, Hans and John A. Cope. "The Security of the Americas." *Joint Force Quarterly* (Spring 1996), 36-75. Online 17 February 1999 at <[http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq\\_pubs/jq019607.pdf](http://www.dtic.mil/doctrine/jel/jfq_pubs/jq019607.pdf)>. Challenges to the Western Hemisphere and US relations with Latin America and the Caribbean region; eight articles. Topics include the Peru-Ecuador border conflict, Brazil's strategic outlook, changing Argentina's military culture and democracy.

Curry, Frick W. "Altered States: Post-Cold War US Security Interests in Central America." Washington, DC: *Center for International Policy*, 1995. Online 23 February 1999 at <<http://www.us.net/cip/altered.txt>>. Analysis of current threats to US interests in Central America; counternarcotics programs, US-Latin American nations' military-civic action programs; police and military training; human rights in the region.

Demarest, Geoffrey. *The Overlap of Military and Police in Latin America*. Fort Leavenworth, KS: *Foreign Military Studies Office Special Report*, 1995. Online 23 February 1999 at <<http://call.army.mil/call/fmso/fmsopubs/issues/milpolre.htm>>. Looks at the organizational, psychological and legal overlaps that exist between what is "military" and what is "police" in Latin America and the discrepancy between the United States and Latin America on the civil-military distinction.

Fishel, John T. and Kimbra L. Fishel. "The Impact

of the US Army School of the Americas on Host Nation Militaries: An Effective Instrument of Policy or Merely a Scapegoat?" *Low Intensity Conflict & Law Enforcement* 7 (Summer 1998), 47-70. Addresses the problems posed by the creation of a military educational institution designed to transfer US doctrine, tactics, techniques and procedures to armed forces of Latin America. It stresses the fact that the school is an instrument of US foreign policy.

Isacson, Adam. *Altered States: Security and Demilitarization in Central America*. Washington, DC: Center for International Policy, 1997. Exhaustive survey of military sizes and roles in Central America, the entire range of threats to the region's security, the extent of current US military assistance and linkages and the building of collective-security guarantees. Argues that because continued peace, democratization and integration, Central America's existing armies are without a mission to justify their large sizes and political roles and thus should be significantly reduced or even abolished.

Machillanda, José. *Nuevo intervencionismo: la desmilitarización en el continente*. Caracas, Venezuela: Italgráfica S.A., 1996. Argues that the United States is intervening in Latin America by seeking to modify the function of the armed forces, changing it from protecting sovereign nations to protecting the region. Some focus on the armed forces of Venezuela, Chile, Peru and Colombia.

Marcella, Gabriel and Donald E. Schulz. *Colombia's Three Wars: U.S. Strategy at the Crossroads*. US Army War College, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1999. Discusses origins, nature and evolution of the three wars that are currently tearing Colombia apart: the violence and corruption generated by drug traffickers, guerrillas and paramilitary groups. Also analyzes implications for regional stability and US interests, prospects for peace and challenges facing US policy, before closing with detailed policy recommendations.

Pellicer, Olga, ed. *Regional Mechanisms and International Security in Latin America*. United Nations Publications, 1999. Provides a forum for a diversity of points of view on international security and international relations in Latin America. What the US role should be is also discussed.

Pizarro, Eduardo, Juan Gabriel Tokatlán and Jaime Zuluaga Nieto. "Coyuntura: elecciones, orden público e intervención norteamericana." *Thema electronic magazine* (April 1998). Online 17 February 1999 at <<http://colombia-thema.org/avr98/coyuntura.htm>>. Attempts to predict the US role in Colombia's quagmire vis-à-vis the guerrillas and the drug traffickers by looking at US policy and interventions in Latin America since the Cold War.

Schoultz, Lars, ed. *Security, Democracy, and Development in U.S.-Latin American Relations*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1994. Impact of global geo-

political changes in the post-Cold War era on the Western Hemisphere. Published jointly with the North-South Center, University of Miami. Partial contents: Inter-American military relations; Arms modernization and arms control in Latin America.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998. Argues that the United States, from the time of John Quincy Adams, has perceived Latin America as an underdeveloped, inferior neighbor—and even today continues to allow this misperception to color relations with its neighbors to the south.

Schulz, Donald E., ed. *The Role of the Armed Forces in the Americas: Civil-Military Relations for the 21st Century*. US Army War College, PA: Strategic Studies Institute, 1998. Papers and speeches of discussions and analysis of the implications for civil-military relations and US policy. At conference sponsored by the US War College, joined with the Southern Command and the Inter-American Defense Board, among others.

Smith, Peter H. *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of US-Latin American Relations*. NY: Oxford University Press, 1996. Historical survey of US-Latin American relations. Discusses the logic of US policy and Latin American response within the context of the global situation. Breaks history into three general time periods: 1790s-Cold War, the Cold War and the post-Cold War. Each historical era is ended with an incisive analysis of Latin American options for response.

Suchlicki, Jaime, ed. "Special issue: US-Latin American relations." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 39 (Spring 1997), 5-12+. Examines economic, trade and security relations and the US interest in directing Latin American political institutions toward stable democratic systems; 11 articles. Topics include the role of the Inter-American Development Bank, relations with the Caribbean region and US relations with Mexico and Cuba.

## The Illicit Narcotics Trade

Bagley, Bruce M., ed. *Drug Trafficking Research in the Americas: An Annotated Bibliography*. Miami, FL: North-South Center, University of Miami, 1996. A well-researched and annotated bibliography on the illicit drug trade in the Americas. Sources chosen from a collection of scholars, analysts, and practitioners from a variety of disciplines. Mostly from 1988 to 1992, with a few earlier works.

Douglass, Joseph D. Jr. "Narcotics Trafficking, Organized Crime, and Terrorism (Aspects None of Us Want to Face)." *Conservative Review* (Summer/Fall 1996), 4-10. Examines connections between drug money, organized crime, terrorism and political corruption in Russia and Latin America; and implications for the United States.

Hutchison, Kay Bailey. "Truth About The Drug War." *Washington Post*, March 1999, A15. Online 10 March 1999 at <<http://search.washington/post.com/wp-srv/Wplate/1999-03/09/1351-030999-idx.html>>. Facts about drug use in America, rise in drug trafficking through Mexico. Argues certification and decertification have no meaning in Mexico because of rampant corruption of government officials, and that alternatives should be sought, such as developing multinational web of relationships among law enforcement agencies, the military, banking institutions and government to wage a realistic war on drugs.

Joyce, Elizabeth and Carlos Malamud, eds. *Latin America and the Multinational Drug Trade* (Institute of Latin American Studies Series). New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997. Analyzes the profound consequences that the illicit drug trade has for millions of Latin Americans and what they imply for domestic policy and for international cooperation. Discusses the cost of controlling the drug trade, economic consequences and results.

Riley, Kevin Jack. *Snow Job? The War Against International Cocaine Trafficking*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1996. Looks at policies intended to control the production and export of cocaine from Latin America and their limitations. Disagrees with analysts who believe that source country control policies can lead to permanent victory and suggests a better strategy would be one that recognizes the severe limits facing interdiction, eradication and other source country policies, focusing instead on directing source country resources where they will be most useful.

US Department of State. "SOUTH AMERICA" and "CANADA, MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA." In *International Narcotics Control Strategy Report* (1997). Washington, DC: Bureau for International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, March 1998. Online 4 March 1999 at <[http://www.state.gov/www/global/narcotics\\_law/1998\\_narc\\_report/](http://www.state.gov/www/global/narcotics_law/1998_narc_report/)>. Overview of US efforts to combat drug production and trafficking throughout Latin America but emphasis on major producers and traffickers—Bolivia, Colombia, Mexico and Peru. Reports on the extent to which the countries in Latin America have met UN goals and objectives to combat drug production and trafficking. Also addresses interdiction, crop reduction and alternative development activities and US involvement in the same.

## Insurgencies, Terrorist groups and Indigenous Movements

Balencie, Jean Marc and Arnaud de La Grange. *Mondes rebelles: acteurs, conflits et violence politiques, v. 1, Ameriques, Afrique*. France: Editions Michalon, 1996. Discusses internal armed conflict and political violence in the Americas and Africa and principal ac-

tors in various groups involved; types of groups include ethnic, guerrilla, paramilitary, organized crime and terrorist. Period is from 1945 to 1996.

Bender, Bryan. "Colombia's Internal Security." *Jane's Defence Weekly* (27 January 1999). Points out that Colombia has been battling the insurgent FARC and yet the group has become stronger and presents serious threat to the government. Attributes success in part to a new military leader, Jorge Briceno, partly to the ineffectiveness of the Samper government and mainly to FARC's links with Colombian drug cartels and the money it receives from protecting cartel operations.

Bevilacqua, Gianluca. "Indios holocaust." *L'Espresso* (21 January 1994), 83-84. Online 17 February 1999 at <<http://colombia-thema.org/nov97/articulole.htm>>. Political mobilization of Latin and Central American Indians viewed as a consequence of state terrorism. Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Ecuador, Bolivia, Peru and Brazil.

Chávez, Elías. "Balance Militar de la otra guerrilla." (Mexico) *Proceso* 1157 (3 January 1999), 12-16. A brief and concise update on the EPR's (Popular Revolutionary Army) capabilities, ideology and current goals.

Chepesiuk, Ron. "Guerrillas in the Midst." *National Review* (1 September 1997), 27-30. Analyses of Colombian guerrillas' drug ties. Asserts that revolutionary groups filled the gap when the Colombian government eliminated several of Colombia's largest drug cartels. Presents several viewpoints; the guerrillas' drug ties are described as everything from a convenient source of funding to the real reason for the movements' existence.

de La Grange, Bertrand and Maite Rico. *Marcos, La Genial Impostura*. Santillana USA Publishing Company, Inc., 1998. Account of the Chiapas conflict in Mexico. Covers all aspects of the conflict—its origin, the bloodshed of the indigenous people, the involvement of the Mexican government and the role of the Catholic church; discusses how Rafael Guillen (Commander Marcos) allegedly deceived the world. Discusses the Chiapas uprising reportedly fueling the birth of other guerrilla groups, such as the Popular Insurgent Revolutionary Army, the Mexican Peasant Worker Front of the Southeast, the Popular Movement of National Liberation and the Revolutionary Insurgent Army of the Southeast.

de Souza Pinheiro, Alvaro. *Guerrilla in the Brazilian Amazon*. With a commentary by William W. Mendel, Fort Leavenworth, KS: Foreign Military Studies Office Special Report, 1995. Online 25 February 1999 at <<http://call.army.mil/call/fmso/finsopubs/issues/amazon/amazon.htm>>. Concise account of jungle warfighting and example of Brazilian strategic thinking. Description of politico-military intent and its potential use as a concept for countering some of today's gray area dangers such as narcotrafficking, guerrilla operations and general lawlessness in uncontrolled areas.



"Doctrinal Change Indicates Serious Evolution in Colombian War." *Global Intelligence Update*, STRATFOR, 3 March 1999. Online 4 March 1999 at <<http://www.stratfor.com/services/giu/030399.asp>>. Looks at plans by the Colombian armed forces to reorganize and revamp the military. Proposes that operational changes represent a doctrinal shift in the Colombian military's strategy, a shift based on its perception that it is no longer chasing a rag-tag band of rebels through the jungles of Caqueta. Discusses current US involvement and argues the United States is at a loss on the Colombian situation.

"Fronteras Calientes: ¿Qué hay detrás del envío de tropas de Ecuador y Perú a las zonas limítrofes con Colombia?" (Colombia) *Revista Semana* (15 February 1999). Online 23 February 1999 at <<http://www.semana.com.co/users/semana/semana99/feb15/nscion7.htm>>. Brings into front-page presence several fronts of FARC and ELN along the Peruvian and Ecuadorian border with Colombia. Reactions by these countries and the United States to increased insurgency, paramilitary and drug traffick activities along the border regions.

González Posso, Camilo. "La guerrilla virtual." *QueHacer* (Peru) (January/February 1997), 72-76. Compares guerrilla warfare of the MRTA in Peru to that of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation in Mexico and the conditions that precipitated these armed movements.

Kovaleski, Serge F. "Rebel Movement on the Rise." *Washington Post*, 5 February 1999, A27. Online 15 March 1999 at <<http://search.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/Wplate/1999-02/05/0101-020599-idx.html>>. Explains that despite Colombia's military successes against the FARC in first part of the 1990s, FARC has returned stronger than ever and is seriously threatening the government. Suggests that although the insurgents' turnaround seems remarkable in an age when the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union have hastened the demise of leftist insurgencies elsewhere in Latin America and beyond, the movement's current status may have less to do with ideology than with military strength and criminal enterprise—including kidnapping, extortion and a growing involvement in the drug trade.

Hinchberger, Bill. "Land of No Return? Not Brazil." *The Nation* (2 March 1998). Global Exchange. Online 22 May 1998 at <<http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/brazil/mst/LandOfNoReturn.html>>. Examines recent operations and initiatives of the "Landless Workers Movement." Provides concise background of the movement, its leadership and how the troubled Brazilian economy affects it. Also discusses current recruiting of urban unemployed and homeless keen to try their luck in the fields and how it represents a historic reversal from the traditional recruiting of peasants.

Isacson, Adam. "A Difficult Few Weeks in Colombia." *Demilitarization Program, Center for International Policy* (22 February 1999). Online 9 March 1999 at

<<http://www.ciponline.org/demilita.htm>>. Overview of the Colombian government peace process with the guerrillas started on 7 January 1999 and ramifications. Topics discussed are the peace process itself; the paramilitaries; deployment of Ecuadorian and Peruvian military troops to Colombian borders to block incursions by Colombian guerrillas; human rights violations and reports; and US response to these topics.

Langevin, Mark S. and Peter Rosset. "Land Reform From Below: The Landless Workers Movement in Brazil." *SEJUP (Serviço Brasileiro de Justiça e Paz)* (17 September 1997). Online 9 March 1999 at <http://www.tao.ca/ainfos/A-Infos97/4/0008.html>>. Background, politics, and latest developments of the Landless Workers Movement in Brazil. Discusses police repression, advancements made by the movement and its close link with the urban Workers Party. Highlights analysts' opinions that although struggle unfolds in countryside, it will be resolved in the city where the political power base for structural change exists.

La Rotta M., Jesús E. *Las Finanzas de la subversión Colombiana: Una forma de explotar la nación*. Bogota: Ediciones Los Ultimos Patriotas, 1996. Excellent documentation on how the insurgencies in Colombia finance their struggle, pointing out in particular their involvement in the drug trade. Although the documents and sources used to establish the financing trail are somewhat dated, the modus operandi remains unchanged.

Marsicek, Cathy, comp. *Sendero Luminoso: A Pathfinder*. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997. Annotated electronic bibliography. Online 23 February 99 at <<http://ils.unc.edu/~marsc/sendero.htm>>. Voluminous guide to important English-language sources on Sendero Luminoso; including books, journals, reference works, government documents and electronic resources.

Montemayor Aceves, Carlos. *Chiapas: La Rebelión Indígena de México*. Mexico: Joaquín Mortiz, 1997. Multidimensional look at grass-roots uprisings and evolution of the one at Chiapas. Focus is on perceptions of movement in national and international community, way in which it was reported in press and contrasting, unexpressed or unperceived realities at its heart.

Montoya, David. "Ruidos en la Jungla." *Revista Caretas* (Peru) (16 July 1998), 33-34. Discusses fallout between the Sendero Luminoso and the "Sendero Rojo" faction over relations between drug traffickers operating in the Huallaga valley, farther north from Ayacucho and out of direct control of Sendero's leader, "Feliciano." The Sendero Rojo has been linked to well-known drug traffickers and allegedly has received from the traffickers massive donations of weapons and equipment for use in antigovernment operations.

Nadal, Alejandro. "Terror in Chiapas." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (March/April 1998). Online 2



March 1999 at <http://www.bullatomsci.org/ussies/1998/ma98/ma98nadal.html>>. Account of the indigenous uprising in Chiapas in 1994. Causes of the Zapatista rebellion, present and future role of the government, the military and paramilitaries. Compares a military solution to a rational negotiating process and consequences to the country's transition to democracy.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Political Cleansing in Chiapas." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* 54, (May/June 1998). Online 2 March 1999 at <http://www.bullatomsci.org/ussies/1998/ma98/ma98nadal.html>>. An update to "Terror in Chiapas." Contends that the situation has worsened and in contravention to a Zapatista-government agreement reached in 1996, the Mexican army has continued to encircle and harass Zapatista communities, establishing new bases and consolidating old ones. Claims that carelessness with which Mexico's most serious political conflict since the 1910 revolution has been treated will negatively affect Mexico's future.

Padgett, Tim. "The Backyard Balkans." *Time* (18 January 1999). Maintains that the United States regards Colombia as something less than a national security threat despite the presence of violent drug cartels in the country. Asserts that because of the boiling 34-year-old civil war, there is a real danger that Colombia could become divided into three volatile, Balkan-like states, and thus become a "Yugo-lombia." To support this assertion it points out that much of north is already ruled by right-wing paramilitary groups linked to drug traffickers; that the federal government is dysfunctional and the military demoralized; and that more than 20,000 Marxist guerrillas control the vast south and Colombia's borders and are making a fortune on kidnappings and cocaine growing and trafficking.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Brazil's Landless Rebels." *Time International Edition* (19 January 1998). Online 9 March 1999 at <[http://cgi.pathfinder.com/time/magazine/1998/int/980119/latin\\_america.brazils\\_1a5.html](http://cgi.pathfinder.com/time/magazine/1998/int/980119/latin_america.brazils_1a5.html)>. Contends that the radical Landless Workers Movement (MST) has adopted "guerrilla capitalism" in its bid to transform the face of the nation. Claims movement to be stridently socialist in its public pronouncements but yet has also become a force for corporate entrepreneurship. Cites arrays of sources and avenues for tax revenue, which netted the movement \$50 million in 1998, comparable to those of many midsize corporations. Argues MST strategy is to become an economic force that the Brazilian government will not be able to ignore any longer.

Palmer, David Scott, ed. *The Shining Path of Peru* 2nd ed., New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. Compilation of articles by leading Sendero scholars, including Degregori, McClintock, Tarazona-Sevillano and Gorriti. At times criticized for not providing any new scholarship on the movement, it remains a convenient source for a broad overview of many aspects of Sendero

Luminoso—origins, thought, rural and urban strategies and expansion into the coca market. The editor and McIntock argue that the insurrection had more of a popular base than commonly believed. (See Poole and Renique, authors of "Peru: Time of Fear," for a different point of view).

Petrarolha, Fabio L. S. "Brazil: The Meek Want the Earth Now." *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (November/December 1996). Online 2 February 1999 at <http://www.bullatomsci.org/issues/1996/nd96/nd96petrarolha.html>>. Historical account of the Landless Workers Movement in Brazil. Discusses social, economic and political conditions that gave rise to it as well as military intervention and death toll. Ominous warning that civil war may not be far-fetched given the current social disparities and dire economic conditions in Brazil.

Petras, James. "Latin America: The Resurgence of the Left." *New Left Review* (May/June 1997), 17-47. Examines emergence of a new revolutionary left and its interaction with older left-wing politics; peasant movements, guerrillas, trade unions and country studies. Covers Brazil, Peru, Paraguay, Colombia, Chile, Argentina and Mexico.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Latin America: Thirty Years After Che." *Monthly Review* 49 (October 1997), 8-21. Analysis of revolutionary cycles, in context of Che Guevara's political thought and practice. Identifies four phases: Wave One, 1959-1967, from the Cuban revolution to Che's death; Wave Two, 1968-1976, from popular uprisings in the Southern Cone and Andean region to military coups; Wave Three, 1977-1990, Central American revolutionary movements, including rise and fall of the Sandinistas; and Wave Four, new socio-political revolutionary movements among peasants, Indians and provincial dwellers.

Poole, Deborah and Gerardo Renique. *Peru: Time of Fear*. London: Latin American Bureau, 1992. Reputed to be one of the most authoritative texts in English on Sendero Luminoso, these two well-known Senderologists provide an informative and well-documented background of the "dirty war" in Peru. It brings together history, governmental policies, the birth and support of Sendero, the Peruvian military and US interest. Unsympathetic to both the Peruvian military and the guerrillas.

Radu, Michael. "Learning from Lima." *E-Notes, Foreign Policy Research Institute* (28 April 1997). Discusses what the Peruvian crisis has demonstrated about the Latin America Left and the operational status of the Tupac Amaru.

Ronfeldt, D.F., J. Arquilla, G.E. Fuller and M. Fuller. *The Zapatista Social Netwar in Mexico*. Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation. Abstract: MR-994-A, 1998. Online 17 February 1999 at <<http://www.rand.org/publications/MR/MR994/MR994.pdf>>. Examines

the rise of the social network, the information-age behaviors that characterize it, such as extensive use of the Internet, its effects on the Mexican military, its implications for Mexico's stability and its implications for the future occurrence of social networks elsewhere around the world.

Sánchez Gómez, Gonzalo. "Violencias, contra-insurgencia y sociedad civil en la Colombia contemporánea." *Thema Electronic Magazine* (April 1998). Online 5 March 1999 at <http://colombia-thema.org/avr98/sanchez.htm>. Account and statistics of violence in Colombia in last 10 years. Discounts Colombia's insurgencies going the way of Central American insurgencies, brushes aside New World Order issues affecting Colombia and post-Cold War security concerns. Claims Colombia's problems and issues are unique and must be looked at from that perspective. Aim is to provide a platform for discussion of issues affecting Colombia today—insurgency, drug trafficking/production, crime and poverty.

Sánchez -Aizcorbe, Mariana. "La Fortaleza de Los Valientes." *Revista Caretas* (Peru) (24 September 1998). Online 14 March 1999 at <http://ekeko.rcp.net.pe/CARETAS/1998/1535/ayacucho/ayacucho.htm>. Last stronghold of Sendero Luminoso in the jungle area of Ayacucho. Alleges about 6 to 8 percent of Peru continues under martial law, mostly in the area of Ayacucho. Sendero continues to carry out armed incursions against government military outposts and that it has also "liberated" several villages in the area.

Tellis, A.J., T.S. Szayna, and J.A. Winnefeld. *Anticipating Ethnic Conflict*. Santa Monica, CA: The RAND Corporation. Abstract: MR-853-A, 1997. A practical tool—guidebook and methodology—to help intelligence analysts determine the long-term potential for social and ethnic conflict. Based on a conceptual model of group conflict, the three-stage model traces the development of ethnic and communitarian strife, beginning with the conditions that may lead to the formation of an ethnic group, then the group's mobilization for political action and ultimately its competition with the state.

Turbiville, Graham H. Jr. "Mexico's Other Insurgents." *Military Review* (May-June 1997), 81-90. Online 23 February 1999 at <http://call.army.mil/call/fmsopubs/issues/mexico/mexico.htm>. Addresses the spectrum of Mexican insurgent groups over the years and highlights some complexities that make Mexican guerrillas an important topic for research and assessment.

Vargas, Alejo. "El conflicto armado colombiano hoy y sus perspectivas." *Thema Electronic Magazine* (November 1997). Online 17 February 1999 at <http://colombia-thema.org/avr98/vargas.htm>. Analyzes the current armed conflict in Colombia by looking at its historical and cultural elements. It also looks at how the international community sees the conflict and offers rec-

ommendations for a negotiated political solution.

US Department of State. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1998: Latin America and the Caribbean*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 26 February 1999. Online 5 March 1999 at [http://www.state.gov/www/global/human\\_rights/1998\\_hrp\\_report\\_ara.html](http://www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/1998_hrp_report_ara.html). Reports provided by US and other human rights groups, foreign government officials, representatives from the UN and other international and regional organizations and institutions and experts from academia and the media. Covers human rights crimes and violations perpetrated by governments, paramilitaries and terrorist organizations. Comprehensive coverage of Colombia in particular, providing wealth of information and statistics.

US Department of State. Office of the Coordinator for Counterterrorism. "Latin America Overview." In *Patterns of global terrorism: 1998*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1999. Online 15 March 1999 at <http://www.state.gov/www/global/terrorism/1998Report1998index.html>. Provides an overview and profile of the terrorist groups or insurgencies active in Latin America. Also addresses areas of instability and that present a challenge to US interests in the region.

"The Wars Within: Counterinsurgency in Chiapas and Colombia." *NACLA Report on the Americas* (March/April 1998). Online 18 February 1999 at [http://www.nacla.org/english/lat\\_rec/war.htm](http://www.nacla.org/english/lat_rec/war.htm). Examines the role of paramilitary groups and private forces; 14 articles.

"Venezuela Challenges Verdict in Murder of Americans in Colombia." *Global Intelligence Update*, STRATFOR. Online 10 March 1999 at <http://www.stratfor.com/SERVICES/GIU/daily.asp>. Makes a case for possible motives for each major player in the internal strife in Colombia for committing the murders. Repercussions and consequences for the peace progress and, most important, how the United States may become more involved in the Colombian quagmire.

Yoo, Aileen S. "Special Report: Mexico." *Washington Post online*, updated August 1998 and 14 March 1999 at <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/inatl/longterm/mexico/overview.htm>. Five-part report: Key Players, Economy, Politics, Rebellion, US Relations. Concise account of the topics in US-Mexico relations going back to the 19th century and to the 1960s economy. Excellent overview of the Chiapas rebellion from its origin to the present.

## Primer On Latin America Insurgencies and Guerrillas Movements

Guevara, Ernesto (Che). *Guerrilla Warfare (Latin American Silhouettes)*. With an introduction by Brian Loveman and Thomas M. Davies Jr., 3rd ed. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 1997. More than

Che's handbook on how to be a guerrilla fighter. The *Guerrilla Warfare*, and two of Che's later pieces, *Guerrilla Warfare: A Method and Message to the Tri-continental*, are nestled between an introduction and essays describing the struggles in seven South American countries whose guerrilla movements were inspired by Che Guevara's writings and beliefs. Loveman and Davies also provide in-depth case studies that apply Che's theories on revolution to political situations in seven Latin American countries from the 1960s to the present. Work is quite useful to understand the terrorism and insurgency in Latin America.

Hamil, Hugh M., ed. *Caudillos: Dictators in Spanish America*. University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. Presents conflicting interpretations of caudillismo in 27 essays written by an international group of historians, anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, journalists and caudillos themselves. Twenty-two chronologically arranged essays follow the theoretical arguments in Hamil's introduction and the first five chapters on individual caudillos. The selections represent revisionists, apologists, enemies and even a victim of caudillos. The personalities discussed include the Mexican priest Miguel Hidalgo, the Argentinian gaucho Facundo Quiroga, the Guatemalan Rafael Carrera, the Colombian Rafael Nunez, Mexico's Porfirio Diaz, the Somoza family of Nicaragua, the Dominican "Benefactor" Rafael Trujillo, the Argentinians Juan Peron and his wife Evita, Paraguay's Alfredo Stroessner, Chile's Augusto Pinochet and Cuba's Fidel Castro.

Marighella, Carlos. *The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla*. June 1969, Sao Paulo, Brazil. Introduction by Lenny Flank Jr. *Eyes on the World online posting*, 11 March 1999 at <<http://eotw.orac.net.au/articles/urban.html>>. Carlos Marighella was a prolific writer of essays and articles on revolutionary method. His most famous works are "The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla" and "For the liberation of Brazil." The Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla has been translated into several different languages and has been a classical handbook for terrorist movements all over the world. It was the official training manual of the Italian Red Brigades, the German Red Army Faction and the Provisional Irish Republican Army.

Porzecanski, Arturo C. *Uruguay's Tupamaros: The Urban Guerrillas*. NY: Praeger Publishers, 1973. A historical account of the Tupamaros from their beginnings to their demise in 1972. Discusses the social, economical and political conditions that gave rise to the

movement and the government measures that dealt it the deathblow.

Spencer, David E. *From Vietnam to El Salvador: The Saga of the FMLN Sappers and Other Guerrilla Special Forces in Latin America*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers Inc, 1996. Examines special select forces by the Faribundo Marti National Liberation Front to attack strategic objectives in its insurgency against the government; links to Vietnamese, Cuban and other revolutionary movements. Training and operations of special select forces by FMLN groups, including the Popular Liberation Front (FPL), Popular Revolutionary Army (ERP) and Armed Forces of Liberation (FAL).

Tomuschat, Christian, Edgar Balsells and Otilia Lux Coti. *Guatemala, Memory of Silence*. New York: Historical Clarification Commission of Guatemala, United Nations, 25 February 1999. Independent investigation commission of Guatemala's 30-odd years of civil war, which ended in December 1996, with a death toll of 200,000, mostly Mayan Indians. Finds military governments and armed forces responsible for 93 percent of Guatemala's violence and 3 percent for the guerrillas. States Cuba provided the guerrillas political, logistic and training support—though never enough to give them a military advantage. Outlines social, economic and political conditions that gave rise to the war and fueled it.

*The Transition from War to Peace in Peru*. Washington, DC: The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, February 1997. Translation of *De la Guerra a la Paz: Cambios Logros, Problemas y Desafios*, a summary of the conference by the same name held in Lima, Peru, 17 October 1996. Lima, Peru: Instituto de Defensa Legal, 1996. Reflections on political, social and economic consequences of the defeat of Sendero Luminoso, by such noted Peruvian and international figures as Julio Cotler, Alvaro de Soto, Fernando Rospigliosi, Francisco Morales Bermudez and Jorge Santistevan. Published in Spanish by the Instituto de Defensa Legal, 1996.

Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P. *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes Since 1956*. Princeton University Press, 1992. Explores the origins and outcomes of rural insurgencies in nearly a dozen between since 1956 and the early 1990s. Explains why guerrillas emerged strongly in certain countries but not others. Considers circumstances under which guerrillas acquire military strength and why they do—or do not—secure substantial support from the peasantry in rural areas. **MR**

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